

## Message Text

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ORIGIN PM-07

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ADP-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 GAC-01 TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 SS-15 NSC-10 H-02

OMB-01 IO-13 OIC-04 AEC-11 ACDA-19 DODE-00 /141 R

DRAFTED BY PM/ DCA: TWSIMONS, JR.: SAC

5/29/73 EXT. 21862

APPROVED BY D/ MBFR: VBAKER

EUR/ RPM - ESTREATOR/ RWILLIAMSON

PM/ DCA - RAMARTIN

OSD/ ISA - COL. FULWYLER

JCS/ J-5 - COL. LAFERTY

ACDA/ IR - THIRSCHFELD ( SUB)

WH - MPOWER

S/ S- O: RMWRIGHT

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS

USDEL SALT TWO

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

CINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLOSACLANT

USNMR SHAPE

S E C R E T STATE 103066

E. O. 11652: GDS 12/31/81

TAGA: PARM, NATO

HELSINKI FOR USDEL MPT, VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL

SECRET

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SUBJECT: MBFR: SUPPLEMENTAL GUIDANCE ON SPC GUIDELINES

TEXT

REF: A. USNATO 2582; B. USNATO 2585; C. STATE 102236

FOLLOWING US PREFERENCES KEYED TO NUMBERED PARAS IN REFS A AND B.

PARA 1. OBJECTIVES STATED IN NEW PARA ( REF B) SEEM TO US LOGICALLY SUBORDINATE TO MAIN OBJECTIVES STATED IN PARA 1 ( CONTINUED) OR 1 BIS ( REF A). HENCE, WE WOULD PREFER REVISION OF PARA 1 ( CONTINUED) TO INCLUDE NEW PARA 1 AS FOLLOWS: " THE ALLIED POSITION ON MBFR SHOULD AIM AT A BALANCED OUTCOME THAT WILL ENSURE UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR ALL MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE AT A LOWER LEVEL OF FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE. BY UNDIMINISHED SECURITY IS MEANT THE MAINTENANCE, AND IF POSSIBLE THE ENHANCEMENT, OF THE MILITARY SECURITY POSTURE OF THE ALLIANCE. IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, ONE OF THE ALLIED AIMS SHOULD BE TO SEEK TO REDUCE THE ELEMENTS OF MILITARY CONFRONTATION AND THUS TEST THE WARSAW PACT WILLINGNESS TO ADDRESS CONCRETE MILITARY SECURITY ISSUES, WHICH COULD PROMOTE REAL DETENTE. MBFR MEASURES SHOULD NOT BE OF SUCH SCOPE AND MAGNITUDE AS TO DIMINISH THE ABILITY OF THE ALLIES TO TAKE THE NECESSARY MILITARY STEPS TO FULFILL CURRENTLY AGREED NATO STRATEGY: FORWARD DEFENSE, FLEXIBLE RESPONSE AND NUCLEAR DETERRENCE."

PARA 2. PREFER BRACKETED LANGUAGE ON " MBFR PROGRAMME" IN BOTH DISAGREED PASSAGES.

PARA 3, 4, 5, 6 AND 14 BIS. SUGGEST CONSOLIDATION AND REORDERING AS FOLLOWS:

-- FIRST CLAUSE OF BRACKETED PARA 5, FOLLOWED BY PRESENT PARA 4, TO READ: " THE ALLIED POSITION ON MBFR SHOULD TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE RISKS INVOLVED IN THE CREATION OF A SPECIAL GEOGRAPHICALLY CONFINED ARMS CONTROL ZONE IN CENTRAL EUROPE. THE AREA FOR THE MBFR PROGRAMME MUST NOT BE LIMITED IN EAST AND WEST ONLY TO THE TERRITORIES OF THE TWO STATES IN GERMANY." THEN:

-- PRESENT PARA 3, FOLLOWED BY PRESENT PARA 14 BIS WITHOUT SECRET

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ITS INTRODUCTORY PHRASE " WHILE DEALING WITH THE PROBLEMS ABOVE." THEN:

-- PRESENT PARA 6, FOLLOWED BY SECOND CLAUSE OF BRACKETED PARA 5, TO READ: " NEITHER THE CONDUCT NOR THE OUTCOME OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO INHIBIT THE AGREED PROGRAMME FOR THE CREATION OF A EUROPEAN UNION OR THE GROWTH OF EUROPEAN DEFENSE CO- OPERATION. EASTERN INFLUENCE, THROUGH MBFR AGREEMENTS AND PROCEDURES, ON WESTERN SECURITY STRUCTURE, SHOULD BE AVOIDED, OR AT LEAST KEPT TO A MINIMUM AND ADMITTED ON A RECIPROCAL BASIS."

PARA 7. PREFER FIRST BRACKETED LANGUAGE.

PARA 8. SOME CONSOLIDATION MAY BE POSSIBLE, BUT WE WOULD PREFER TO ADDRESS TEXTS FURTHER DEVELOPED IN SPC.

PARA 9. PREFER REVISION TO READ: " REDUCTIONS ON THE ALLIED SIDE SHOULD NOT EXCEED APPROXIMATELY TEN PER CENT IN OVERALL NATO MANPOWER. MOREOVER, MANPOWER REDUCTIONS FOR STATIONED FORCES SHOULD NOT EXCEED TEN PER CENT IN TOTAL STATIONED MANPOWER, AND MANPOWER REDUCTIONS FOR INDIGENOUS FORCES SHOULD NOT EXCEED TEN PER CENT IN TOTAL INDIGENOUS MANPOWER."

PARA 10. RETAIN BRACKETS. WE BELIEVE SUBSTANCE OF THIS ISSUE SHOULD BE ADDRESSED AT A LATER POINT IN OUR DELIBERATIONS. PREVIOUS GUIDANCE CONTINUES TO APPLY.

PARAS 11, 12, 13, AND 14. WE SUGGEST CONSOLIDATION OF PARAS 11, 13, AND 14 INTO ONE " PHASING" PARAGRAPH ALONG FOLLOWING LINES:

" PHASING IS INTENDED TO ENSURE THAT MBFR MOVES IN A CONTROLLED AND CALCULABLE PROCESS WITH LIMITED OBJECTIVES AND ACCEPTABLE RESULTS.

"-- THE ALLIED POSITION SHOULD INCLUDE AN EFFORT TO ACHIEVE APPROPRIATE PRE- REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS, BUT THESE  
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CONSTRAINTS SHOULD NOT BE A CONDITION TO THE NEGOTIATION OF REDUCTIONS. CONSTRAINTS SHOULD BE PART OF THE MBFR PROCESS, AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION SHOULD TAKE PLACE AT THE LATEST SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THE FIRST WITHDRAWALS.

"-- ANY REDUCTIONS MUST BE COMPLEMENTED BY APPROPRIATE CONSTRAINTS. REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE NEGOTIATED AND IMPLEMENTED IN PHASES. NO WITHDRAWALS OR REDUCTIONS WOULD TAKE PLACE UNTIL SOME AGREEMENT ON CONSTRAINTS AND VERIFICATION HAD BEEN REACHED."

UNDER HEADING " VERIFICATION", PARA 15 WOULD FOLLOW, REVISED TO READ: " ANY MBFR AGREEMENT MUST CONTAIN APPROPRIATE VERIFICATION PROVISIONS, INCLUDING NON-INTERFERENCE WITH NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS, BEARING IN MIND THAT THE MODALITIES AND EXTENT OF VERIFICATION, INCLUDING INSPECTION, SHOULD DEPEND ON THE CONTENT AND NATURE OF THE AGREEMENTS REACHED. THE ALLIES SHOULD ASCERTAIN AT AN EARLY STAGE THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE EAST WILL BE WILLING TO AGREE TO ADEQUATE VERIFICATION PROVISIONS BY PROPOSING AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE TO NON- INTERFERENCE WITH NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS AND POSSIBLY OTHER VERIFICATION PROVISIONS. AT THE SAME TIME, THE ALLIES CANNOT ACCEPT ANY PROPOSAL FOR MBFR WHICH WOULD

DEPEND CRITICALLY ON THE ACHIEVEMENT OF NEGOTIATED VERIFICATION MEASURES TO MAINTAIN UNDIMINISHED SECURITY, AND MUST BE PREPARED TO RELY ON NATIONAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION FOR ANY PROPOSALS WE ADVANCE OR ACCEPT." RE UK PREFERENCE FOR BRACKETED SENTENCE ON VERIFICATION FOR POLITICAL REASONS IN PRESENT PARA 15, YOU SHOULD SEEK FURTHER CLARIFICATION.

UNDER HEADING "NON- CIRCUMVENTION" PARA 12 WOULD CONSEQUENTLY FOLLOW VERIFICATION PARAGRAPH AS SEPARATE GUIDELINE. WE WOULD STILL SUGGEST SECOND BRACKETED ALTERNATIVE REVISED TO READ: " THE ALLIED CONCEPT SHOULD THEREFORE INCLUDE MEANS OF PREVENTING A BUILDUP OF SOVIET FORCES IN HUNGARY."

PARA 16. FYI. WE EXPECT TO PRESENT OUR CONCEPT OF A PROGRAM FOR FORCE IMPROVEMENTS AT DPC ON JUNE 7. END  
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FYI. SECOND SENTENCE SHOULD BE REVISED TO READ " THE APPROPRIATE BODIES OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE SHOULD CONSIDER ADDITIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A PROGRAMME OF IMPROVEMENTS WHICH, IN CONJUNCTION WITH AD-70, COULD COMPLEMENT THE NEGOTIATING EFFORTS."

PARA 17, ON CONSULTATION. WE ASSUME DEFINITIONS WILL FIGURE IN GUIDELINES PAPER. PLEASE REPORT STATUS. ROGERS

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NMAFVVZCZ  
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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 10 MAY 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** n/a  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 30 MAY 1973  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** boyleja  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1973STATE103066  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** PM/ DCA: TWSIMONS, JR.: SAC  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** n/a  
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**Office:** ORIGIN PM  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** A. USNATO 2582; B. USNATO 2585; C. STATE 102236  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** boyleja  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 20 AUG 2001  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <20-Aug-2001 by boyleja>; APPROVED <19-Sep-2001 by boyleja>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** <DBA CORRECTED> mcm 980306  
**Subject:** n/a  
**TAGS:** PARM, n/a  
**To:** NATO INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS  
SALT TWO  
HELSINKI  
VIENNA  
CINCEUR  
USDOCOSOUTH  
USLOSACLANT

USNMR SHAPE

**Type:** TE

**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005